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The Labor Movement Needs Organization Talents Women Show in Home Management

THE question posed in the last issue of **DISCUSSION**—"Should we organize women's branches of the Party?"—provokes a great deal of thought on this serious problem in the development of our Party.

In attempting to give life and reality to our work among women we are sharply brought up against some of the most ingrained influences and effects of bourgeois society on the general attitude towards women; that is, of men towards women, and no less, the attitude of women to each other.

Some of our Party women will react to the above questions by declaring they do not want to do women's work, giving various "reasons" which serve only to indicate their own shortcomings rather than the futility of undertaking the organization of women into the ranks of the militant working class.

One reason advanced is that men and women work on an equal footing in the Communist Party and can learn to work together as comrades in a common cause. This is true, but it is also sectarian, narrow in its outlook and not in line with reality. Comrade Lenin spoke definitely on this question of the equal rights and duties of men and women. He said: "The Communist must be his enlargement on this must be the significant thing in our approach to the subject. He enlarged it thus: 'Nevertheless, we must not close our eyes to the fact that the Party must have bodies, working groups, commissions, committees, bureaus, or whatever you like.'"

Comrade Lenin also pointed out that it is to arouse the masses of women workers, to bring them into contact with the Party, and to keep them under its influence. "We must think not only of proletarian women, whether they work in the factory or at home. The poor peasant women, the petty bourgeoisie—they, too, are the prey of capitalism... The impolitical, unsocial, backward psychology of these women, their isolated sphere of activity, their entire manner of their life—these are the facts. It would be absurd to overlook them, absolutely absurd. We need appropriate bodies to carry on work amongst them, special methods of agitation and education of organization. That is not feminism, that is practical, revolutionary expediency." While Comrade Lenin was speaking specifically of Russian women, of course, his remarks have just as much significance for us.

Educate the Men Too!

Certainly the need for developing women's movements is recognized by our Party; it is evidenced by the establishment of Women's Commissions in our Party Districts. But in the creation of these bodies what do we have to gain against? We must ensure that their tasks become the tasks of all Party comrades—men as well as women; otherwise it is a mere shuffling of responsibility, just a group of people assigned to a certain task and left to their own devices, good or bad, to

By KATE FOUNTAIN
(Toronto, Ont.)

work it out. This is not sharing the "equal rights and duties" we have as Communists.

If our women comrades tend to resist the urgency of developing women's work, what is the attitude of the men generally towards this question? Too often it is treated casually and the men do not seriously entertain the idea of working on the Women's Commissions. As Comrade Lenin said: "Agitation and propaganda work among women, their awakening and reorganization, is regarded as an incidental matter, as an affair which only concerns women comrades. They alone are reproached because work in that direction does not proceed so quickly and more vigorously. That is wrong, quite wrong! In the final analysis it is nothing but an under-estimation of women and her work."

Comrade Lenin treated this question with profound seriousness, taking time to dwell even on how much men can do to lighten the little daily tasks of the woman in her home. This is the essence of understanding, reality and simplicity and is a great inspiration which we should be quick to follow. Naturally he had in mind also the great potentialities of women as leaders as well as fighters in the revolutionary movement. In a discussion with Comrade Clara Zetkin in the autumn of 1920, he remarked: "We still have no international Communist women's movement and that we must have... Without that the work of our International and of its Parties is not complete, can never be complete." He went on: "Our Communist work among the women, our

political work, embraces a great deal of educational work among men. We must root out the old master ideas to the last, and smallest root in the Party and among the masses. That is one of our political tasks, just as it is the urgently necessary task of forming a staff of men and women comrades, well trained in theory and practice, to carry on Party activity among working women."

Where to Start

Assuming, therefore, that our work among women is correctly understood and begun, how must it be developed? We must not ignore the lack of political consciousness of thousands of women, nor overlook the hundred and one issues in which women are interested in a personal way and will discuss with one another. We must not scorn to organize sewing circles, bridge clubs, etc. Thousands of Canadian women must be brought into such groups and we have to utilize the opportunity, joining in the activities common to them and with patience set about raising the level of the sewing circle to a live discussion group around topics of the day, particularly around those concerned with the immediate locality. Our men comrades must be willing to go to speak to such groups of women, helping them to initiate action, and come to a fuller realization of themselves as vital members of society and of the working class, with immense power in their hands to improve the lot of women, married and single, employed and unemployed.

No effort must be spared to utilize the leadership and organizational ability developed in running a home for participation in the working-class movement.

Remarks on the Style of Our Work

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to read our press and attend our meetings, is all important. Sectarianism does not express itself only in a collective fashion, but also in the individualistic manners of each member of the Party.

Here, of course, we come bang up against the problem of being on money's worth in the work of the Party and its policies. This understanding, I think, is growing. There is a keenness about our membership which was not seen years ago. The reason is not hard to find. Our most active members, in the main, are those who have come to the Party not from books as once was the case, but from participation in mass movements. This means their knowledge of their communities is greater and their power to work ten-fold above that we have in the past days.

But I think the individual agitation of our members is far below what it should be. It must be the concern of our comrades and branches to first of all be aware of this problem, then to tackle it by better branch discussion and

greater assistance to each member so that he can be in the course of his daily travels influence those people with whom we are in direct connection.

Efficient Publicity

We are not publicity-conscious, which again is a hangover from past days when we were not sure we would be taken seriously, but rather retired into our corner certain we were correct. Many avenues of public information are open to us. The press, for example, is used but rarely in the localities and provincial centres. Here again, Regina is an exception. But in most places, existing opportunities for press statements, interviews, etc., are either ignored or unknown to us. What the Party proposes today is news for most papers. Reporters and men on news desks in newspaper offices and appeal, our style of work, amounts in a word to a fight for efficiency and against sloppiness. This is true not only of our Party work, but of our inner Party organization, the set-up of our offices, and other things. But that is the subject of an other article.

Leaflets are almost disappearing from Party life. All leaflets and nothing else is as bad as no leaflets at all. When we issue them, they are usually much too long. People don't read

Most Canadian Farmers Are Not on the Prairies

By W. E. WIGGINS
(Regina, Sask.)

WHAT is the matter with our Party that we should have the contradiction of the most advanced farmer movement in those provinces, Saskatchewan and Alberta, which are farthest removed geographically from the centre of the Party's interest? It is good that we have so many Socialist, Communist and conscious radical farmers in the west; but when we speak of an alliance of workers and farmers to fight capitalism, do we imagine one of western farmers with Ontario and Quebec workers? While the C.I.O. is progressing rapidly in Ontario and the Catholic Union are waging valiant struggles in Quebec, where are the U.F.O. and the Quebec farmers?

We take the way to the farmers is easiest, and the opportunities for co-operative effort in the political and economic arena the most immediate in the west, the fact remains that the vast majority of the farmer population are in the eastern provinces. They are closer to the main bodies of industrial workers; the rural population is more dense and more accessible as to distance. That they are not the most developed politically is no justification for the present neglect of concentration of our work in the agrarian field. Quite the contrary, in fact.

Ontario and Quebec

A Dominionwide Party can not live up to its responsibilities with such a sectional, hit-and-miss orientation towards agrarian organizing as we have had up to now. It is high time to turn our attention more specifically to the farming areas nearest to where the industrial struggles are taking place. At present this is in south Ontario and Quebec.

Notwithstanding the petty boss outlook of the small farmer who employs hired help, and his property-owner-tax-payer concepts, his most important economic interest is in close contact with the capitalist interests with whom he deals in the sale of his products, the purchase of his supplies, and the financing of his operation. His worst enemies are identical with the enemies of the workers. Ontario farmers still are punch-drunk from the beating they have received at the hands of various capitalists during the last seven years; but under terrific economic pressure, they do not know yet who hit them. They strike not blindly, they save themselves and only succeed in hitting their workers, because they are the easiest to reach, by cutting wages; and they fall for the propaganda about high wages and low prices. They shun the striking workers in the same canning factories which have fleeced them right and left on their terms and on a fifty or hundred dollar share they hold in the concern. All this may be true, and it is bad enough; but the rural population is not its own ultimate interests, and therein lies the hope of putting them out of their blindness.

Channels of Approach

Farmers have radios, especially in Ontario. They read newspapers, as Comrade Mortimer points out correctly, more thoroughly than do city workers. They have co-operative societies and cultural organizations and clubs. They interest themselves in every strike and industrial struggle within the scope of their experience in neighboring towns and even, faraway cities—and are not all on the wrong side of their sympathies. How many of our Party radio talks have been put on especially for the farmers. How many Party members make a practice of writing news articles or letters to the editor on farmer problems for publication in the capitalist papers? Have we studied the farmer co-operatives or contacted their members, officers or managers? Have we shown as much interest in their economic organizations as we have in the U.F.O., as we have in the Trade Unions? Have striking workers made a practice of holding meetings of farmers or spreading leaflets in the country? Have we been at the scene of the strike? Most of all, has the Party been aware of the struggles of the farmers around them and given the help which only the Party can give? I do not know the answer to these questions for the east and B. C.

The Party in all provinces and districts must become more farmer-conscious. We must have men and women comrades intimately familiar with farmer problems and able to devote more time to helping them and organizing them and winning them for progress, peace and democracy. Most of us must immediately increase our efforts in the eastern provinces and in British Columbia—with-out neglecting the prairie provinces.

Why Favor Every Party Member Becoming a Clarion Subscriber

By ANNIE S. BULLER
(Winnipeg, Man.)

I DO not see how Party comrades can understand and fully appreciate the Party line and be in a position to convey this line to the people unless they read the Clarion regularly. To read the Clarion regularly and miss certain issues to a very great extent destroys the effectiveness of the work of very good comrades. The very issue they miss reading perhaps contains a statement by Tim Buck on the war danger or an important article on Spain, or some vital trade union question.

Our comrades in the trade unions working very hard, occupied night after night, settling wage rates, adjusting complaints or recruiting new members into the union, cannot function most effectively unless they read the Clarion, and are constantly in touch with developments, in regard to organization of the unorganized, strike struggles and other related issues.

Can you picture a comrade in his local Union being in a position to present the most convincing case for financial and moral support for striking textile workers unless this comrade read the Clarion, saw the exposure of how the textile barons are in effect stealing the milk from babies' bottles. Shouting generalities about "the fifty big shots" will not help, but quoting from the Clarion, the materials given in the Clarion will undoubtedly convince workers.

All comrades will agree that the Clarion is an effective organizer and agitator. All will agree that few of us can regularly come in contact with the thousands of people that the Clarion can reach. If it goes to the home, the shop, the union, the library, public meetings, it can inspire, lead, organize and educate the masses that are disilluminated with the present system and are looking for a way out. What is required is a "Clarion consciousness," a love for our paper.

All Should Subscribe

The Clarion enjoys the endorsement of trade unions, locals, trade union leaders; the Clarion is beginning to get quoted. Yet there is a gap between its potential and actual circulation.

Throughout my B. C. tour where comrades secured a bundle for the meeting the comrades were glad to get the paper and many welcomed anyone who called every week with the Clarion. If our Clarion Committees, Party members and sympathizers in these localities will not only retain but extend these contacts, circulation will double and treble. In Nanaimo for instance, there are between nine hundred to a thousand miners. The majority of these miners would welcome the Clarion providing we regularly reached them.

If our Nanaimo comrades would involve the entire membership, would map out a plan for every comrade to work in specific localities where the miners live, the Clarion would soon find a warm reception

among them. But if we remain satisfied that only a half dozen people sell the Clarion and if we will use up a lot of energy finding excuses why we should not do certain things then, of course, we will not succeed.

Those workers that read the Clarion love it. I could cite dozens of examples. Let me quote one. A logger was present at my meeting at Port Alberni. After the meeting he asked me where I would be next week. I told him Vancouver. He said, "I would like to give two dollars towards this collection for the Clarion." The following week while I was away from the office, this working man called and left two

dollars.

Innumerable expressions of loyalty can be cited by the comrades who go canvassing, by the comrades that sell bundles regularly, by the comrades who always carry a few copies when visiting friends and attending meetings. Great loyalty is shown by our foreign-born comrades that support the language press and yet make supreme sacrifices to maintain the Clarion. Our main efforts must be directed towards rapidly increasing the circulation and putting the Clarion on the map in localities that have not seen it. Extended circulation of the Clarion is the key to unity, to the organization of the un-

organized, to independent political action by the workers. It is the key to winning a better life for the Canadian people.

Unused Opportunities

We need to understand that we can have the best paper in the world and yet, unless we bring it to the masses, it cannot prove its effectiveness. We should all subscribe to the Clarion, not only the new members that are joining our ranks, but all of us should be regular subscribers. All of us should cherish the Clarion. The publication of a Daily Clarion and Weekly Clarion is a tremendous achievement. The people that have supported the Clarion look

to us to make it a mighty weapon for the defense of the Canadian people. We cannot break faith with these loyal supporters. We cannot go on repeatedly asking for more donations unless we show that the Clarion is really reaching workers in the mines, mills and factories, and is aiding to help out a better life for them. The strength of the Clarion should not only be measured by the praise we get; we cannot afford to get "dizzy with success." We must judge each locality by the number of new subscribers, by increased bundle order, by the number of meetings with Clarion readers, by the news and the articles sent in.

If the Party Builds the Clarion, The Clarion Will Build the Party

By FRANCES BRODIE
(Glouce Bay, N.S.)

THE utilization of the Clarion and its influence has been the biggest single factor in the development of our Party in Nova Scotia, and our plans to expand the influence of the paper, both politically and numerically, we naturally figure on the Clarion. In outlining some of the experience and the suggestions made from these experiences, the example of, the present district center, Glouce Bay, is the best, mainly because the bulk of our circulation has been built up around here and there has been some experimenting in the process.

The political importance of building the Clarion and of utilizing it in developing the Party has to be impressed upon the membership. This was not done overnight but has taken months of consistent hammering. The general sentiment was that Clarion work was a duty, the Clarion was given the same position as any other paper sympathetic to the movement and treated as work to be done after we had a stable Party built. Some felt that our leading people were maybe concentrating too much on the Clarion when there was "Party work" to be done.

It was necessary at first to have the Clarion come up on the branch agenda weekly. Where a branch plan of work was used, a quota for circulation was set at a weekly level. The activity of every member was made. This made the membership responsible for raising the circulation, and in one branch this was made particularly effective. The branch organizational fund was raised by profits from the sale of the Clarion by the members. Each member brought in a list of regular customers for whom he would be responsible, the list to be added to each week. When the fire grew unwieldy, it was handed over to comrades with a regular delivery route — but a number of lessons had been learned by the branch members. We learned to couple up our

Clarion work with other Party work. It taught us the necessity of organizational work, for even the canvassing, selling and finances connected with a bundle of ten papers weekly, there must be some organization. Again, it developed individual responsibility for the paper, and these branch members have remained some of our most consistent Clarion boosters.

Excess Timidity

IN a numerically small Party organization like ours, it is necessary that we cooperate on the Clarion work as we have no one whom we can apply exclusively to Clarion Party work as can be done in larger Party organizations.

Our position now is that the demand for the Clarion is greater than our ability to supply it. For instance, when we try, we have no great difficulty in signing up new readers, but to insure regular delivery to these new readers is more difficult. This is our great weakness. The influence of the Clarion is great here and if it is to be really influential, we must see to it that the paper is at least made available to all who want it. The greater the number of steady Clarion readers, the better will be our Party membership. Our new recruits will be better developed politically, because of their education from the pages of the Clarion. We already see the influence of the Clarion being manifested in a number of different ways, by people, who in most cases, do not realize that they are assimilating it.

One drawback which, I am sure, is common to all over the district, is our timidity in approaching people to buy the Clarion. We are surprised when our arguments are clearly listened to and we dispose of our papers. We were also surprised at the support given the Clarion by the trade unions. There is nothing surprising about these things, comrades. We must take it for granted that the workers want a labor paper—that they need the Clarion—and then make it our

business to see that every one of them becomes familiar with the Clarion.

This can be done only by systematic canvassing, by discussion—and by listening. We must listen to all arguments and suggestions carefully, because the reason given by a worker as to why he doesn't buy the Clarion may be a worthwhile one. It is only on the basis of such discussion and criticism that we can strengthen our paper in order to reach out to the widest masses of the people.

Reach Many Points

WITH the present development of our Party locally, an increased membership will give us the ability to do really effective Clarion work. We have concentrated this past year in trying to build a sound Clarion apparatus, that is, in establishing dependable localities for consolidating our circulation, and discouraging any tendency to run up debts.

Our tasks now are quite clear to us, and embrace activity well within the realm of our membership.

Firstly, we must broaden out the influence of the Clarion by making it available in as many outside areas as possible. From the viewpoint of propaganda and building the circulation, a large number of small bundles distributed in better localities means more than one large bundle sold in a single locality. We therefore need a network of reliable salesmen who will function independently, try to build up a route and keep finances straight. Our experience is that it is worth while waiting until a dependable salesman can be secured rather than have papers handled in a slipshod manner. Slipshod methods inevitably result in a fluctuating circulation and heavy debt increases. This is important, as a prospective steady customer who receives his paper irregularly and sees it handled by different salesmen, makes his own deductions. We must remember that our customers appreciate business-like methods on our part, with regular delivery and collections, and an air of abso-

lute confidence in the paper. In our Clarion work, as in all other Party work, our own activity is our best propaganda.

Secondly, we must make the Weekly Clarion deal more with issues in the Maritime by writing articles which will give a lead on problems of local importance. We can localize the paper more by publishing interviews and statements from our trade union leaders dealing with local conditions. This would also be a means of popularizing and giving prestige to the people most active in trade union work.

Thirdly, we must consolidate the gains made during the Drive, when many trade union locals not only endorsed the Clarion but assisted us financially. This was a big step politically but the next step must also be made. We realize that to gain mass support for the Clarion, and to effectively carry the policy laid down by the Clarion, we must turn our attention to the trade unions.

The gains which we have made inside the trade unions should be the focal point of our future work. In the coming months, it should be possible to have the Clarion endorsed by most, if not all, of the District Executive of the U.M.W.A. in the near future. We must also think of the Labor Parties which are in embryo form right now and of the coming Trades and Labor Councils, and we can weave the influence of the Clarion into the building and strengthening of these important bodies.

We need to look ahead, remembering that the gains we made this year were considered impossible by a year ago. We can even dare to think of the time when the trade union locals will help to organize Clarion circulation. Why not? Almost all this discussion was made during the last Drive in at least two locals. The mistake was ours—we failed to follow it up.

Draft Constitution of

1. NAME OF ORGANIZATION.

The full name of this organization shall be The Communist Party of Canada Section of the Communist International.

2. EMBLEM.

The emblem of the Party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle with a circular margin, having at the top: "COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA" and underneath: "WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE."

3. MEMBERSHIP.

- A member of the Party can be any person over the age of eighteen who accepts the program and statutes of the Communist International (Comintern) and of the Communist Party of Canada; who becomes a member of a basic unit or branch of the Party; who is active in this organization; who regularly pays his or her dues and agrees to be guided by and to carry out all decisions of the Party.
- The application of every prospective member is subject to consideration and decision by the Party unit or branch to which the application is submitted. Application of new members shall also be endorsed by the local committee of the Party.
- Members of the Party who move from one Province to another, from one city or town to another, or from one place of employment to another within the same city, should obtain a transfer to the Party unit covering the member's new residence or place of work. The secretary of the unit or branch shall forward a transfer card to the ward committee which will, in turn, forward the transfer if need be through the Dominion office of the Party to the Province to which the member has moved.
- Members of the Party who desire to leave the country and transfer to another section of the Communist International shall obtain endorsement of the Dominion Executive Committee of the Party before departure.
- Every member of the Party who is eligible to become a member of a trade union should join the union of his industry or trade. It is a member's duty to be an active and devoted trade unionist.

4. STRUCTURE.

- The Communist Party of Canada, in common with all other sections of the Communist International, is built upon the principles of democratic centralism. These principles are:
 1. Election of all leading committees at conventions of the Party.
 2. Regular reporting of the leading committees.
 3. The broadest discussions on Party policy throughout the Party prior to the reaching of important decisions and the unequivocal carrying out of decisions once they have been reached.
 4. Acceptance and carrying out of the decisions of the higher Party committee by the lower. Strict Party discipline and wholehearted application of the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Dominion Executive Committee of the Party.
- The highest authority of the Party is the Dominion Party Convention, to be held not less than once in two years. Special Party conventions can be held either by a decision of the Dominion Executive Committee or by a demand of two-thirds of the membership.
- The Dominion Convention elects the Dominion Executive Committee, which acts as the leading Party body between conventions.

5. THE BASIC FORMS OF PARTY ORGANIZATION.

- The aim of the Party is to have its organization entrenched among the widest sections of the people of Canada. With this aim in view, the basic forms of Party organization cannot be frozen into any single mold.
- The main form of Party organization should be the Party groups in factories, mines, mills, workshops, offices, and other places of work. All Party members working in a single enterprise should belong to the Party group organized in the particular enterprise. A Party group cannot consist of less than three members. Organization of new groups should be endorsed by the local committee of the Party.
- In the case of only one or two members of the Party working in the same factory or mill, these should be affiliated to the nearest territorial group in the locality where they work or reside. Members working in different shops belonging to one industry shall where advisable be organized together into industrial groups.
- To facilitate the work of the Party group or branch, to make active work of all members possible, the average Party group should not exceed the number of twenty-five.
- Party branches with membership larger than specified in sub-section (d) can be organized in agrarian districts as well as in urban areas with the agreement of the Provincial Executive of the Party.
- The Party group is the organization that links the party with the workers and the common people generally. The task of every Party group or branch is to spread the Party influence among the masses of non-party toilers, to carry on systematic enlightenment on the role and tasks of the Party, to inform the people and win them for the solutions the Party offers to all problems facing the people of the Dominion. The Party groups should steadily build the Party by recruiting new members, issue factory or mine papers, distribute and sell all Party press and literature, discuss in the group and study Party problems and policies as well as conduct a steady campaign to educate the membership in the principles of Marxism-Leninism.
- It is the duty of every Party member and every Party group to work tirelessly for the benefit of the workers and the common people. The Party groups should, by their work, win the highest esteem of the people and should help to organize, participate in, and lead all political and economic struggles of the workers, farmers and middle-class sections of the Canadian people.
- In the case of Party units or branches having more than eight members, a Branch executive of three to five members should be elected by a full membership meeting. The executive should administer the work of the particular Branch; it should report on all its activities to the group membership; the Branch Executive should be elected for a period of six months.
- The Branch Executive elects a Branch Organizer and divides among its members the various phases of Party work. The organizer of the branch so

Our Constitution M

By Sam Carr
Dominion Organiza-
tional Secretary

IN this issue of DISCUSSION

we are publishing the draft of the Party Constitution. The constitution of our organization merits the fullest attention of all party members. In the course of the next few weeks hundreds of Communists, men and women should find the time to sit down and write DISCUSSION their criticisms of this first draft, their suggestions for improvement and for corrections where correction may be needed.

The constitution of a Commu-

ist Party is a living document. It is the embodiment of the basic principles of Party organization which should become the property and intimate knowledge of every Party member.

Our constitution will be highly important in helping us to dispell the concerted propaganda of the 50 big shots and their press agents, which aims to create in the minds of the people the totally false idea that there are sinister or secretive aspects to our Party.

In publishing our draft constitution we bring before the Canadian people a document that indicates the true relationship of our Party and our International, our party and the individual members who compose it.

ected should be at the time of election an active Party member for at least six months. The branch organizer is subject to approval by the local committee.

6. TOWNSHIP AND WARD COMMITTEES.

- All Party groups and branches in one township or ward are combined into a ward or township organization of the Party.
- Township or Ward conventions shall be called twice yearly by the respective committee with the approval of the Provincial Executive of the Party, for the purpose of discussing the report and plans of the leading committees, for the election of the Township or Ward Executive and also when required for the election of delegates to the Provincial Conventions.
- Representation at the Township or Ward Convention shall be based on the ratio of one delegate for each five members from shop, factory, mine, mill, and camp groups and one delegate for each ten members or major fraction thereof from all other Party groups and branches.
- The convention of the Party in the given township or ward shall elect the Township or Ward Committee composed of not less than five and not more than seven members. The Committee elected shall in turn elect from its members a Secretary-Organizer who should be an active Party member for not less than one year and whose election is subject to approval by the Provincial Executive of the Party.
- The Township or Ward Executive Committee shall be guided by the Provincial Executive and shall take full charge of all Party work in the territory it covers.
- The Township or Ward Committee shall meet not less than once every two weeks.

7. THE PROVINCIAL PARTY ORGANIZATION.

- The Communist Party of Canada is organized on the basis of the following Provincial organizations:—
 1. The Maritimes organization, covering the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.
 2. The Provincial organizations of Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, each covering their respective Province.
 3. In the case of Ontario, the Ontario Provincial Committee shall co-ordinate the political activity of four Regional Committees covering respectively Southern Ontario, Northern Ontario, Northwestern Ontario and Western Ontario. Each of these Regional Committees shall have, for all organizational and Party purposes, the full status of Provincial Executives.
- Provincial and Regional Conventions which shall discuss the reports and work of their respective Executives and all other important Party problems, elect the Provincial or Regional Executive Committee and, when occasion arises, delegates to Dominion Conventions, shall be called at least once a year, with the approval of the Dominion Executive Committee of the Party.
- Special Provincial or Regional Conventions can be called, (and have the full power of a regular convention), on the demand of not less than one-half of the membership of the Province or Region, or by decision of the Dominion Executive Committee.
- Delegates to the Provincial or Regional Conventions shall be elected at Township or Ward Conventions, on the basis of one delegate for every twenty-five members, or major fraction thereof. This basis of representation can be amended by an agreement of the Dominion and Provincial or Regional Executives.
- The Provincial or Regional Committee is the highest Party authority in the Province or Region between conventions. It should be composed primarily of shop, mill, mine or camp workers and of members active in the most important fields of Party work. The Provincial or Regional Committees shall consist of from thirteen to twenty-one members and three or five candidates. Full meetings of the Provincial or Regional Committee shall take place at least once in four months.
- The Provincial or Regional Committee shall, at its first full meeting after the Convention, elect a Provincial or Regional Party Bureau composed of not less than seven and not more than eleven members. The Provincial Executive shall, at the same meeting, elect the Provincial Party Secretary.
- At its first meeting, the Provincial or Regional Bureau shall elect a Provincial or Regional Organizer and a Provincial or Regional Organizational Secretary. The Provincial or Regional Bureau shall also divide the work among

the Communist Party

erits Wide Discussion

The constitution of our party is a public document and, being such, we also invite non-party members, people interested in the welfare of the progressive and revolutionary movements to write us the suggestions they may have for its improvement.

It is essential that the entire Party organization discuss this draft in the next two or three weeks. To assure this I would suggest that at least one meeting be devoted by every party branch to collective reading of the constitution followed by discussion. It may even be better to discuss each section of the draft as it is read. The branch secretary can record the opinions of each member and at

the end of the meeting one or more resolutions on the constitution should be sent in to the editor of DISCUSSION.

It is essential that in addition to the branch discussions, the constitution should receive the attention of the leading committees of the Party, particularly the Ward, sub-District and Provincial bodies.

On the basis of all recommendations received from the party membership the Political Bureau will present a report to the Eighth National Convention at which the final draft will be adopted. Following the convention the Dominion office will publish the constitution in an attractive booklet and make it available to all members.

its members, placing members in individual responsibility for such phases of work as Trade Union, Educational and Women's work.

- (h) The Provincial or Regional Secretary, Organizer and Organization Secretary are to be elected in consultation with and with the endorsement of the Dominion Executive. Members elected to these positions should be in the Party not less than three years. Exceptions to this rule can be made only with the agreement of the Dominion Executive.

8. THE DOMINION EXECUTIVE OF THE PARTY.

- (a) The Dominion Party Convention is the highest authority of the Party and shall be called by the Dominion Executive Committee in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Communist International, at least once in two years.
- (b) Special conventions which shall have all the powers of regular conventions may be called by the Dominion Executive Committee either upon its own initiative, or upon the demand of Party organizations representing not less than two-thirds of the membership and in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Communist International.
- (c) The call for the Dominion Party Convention and the proposed agenda shall be submitted to the membership at least two months before the date of the Convention.
- (d) The number of delegates to a Dominion Convention is to be determined by the Dominion Executive in consultation with the Provincial and Regional Committees.
- (e) The Dominion Conventions shall hear and discuss reports of the Dominion Executive, decide on questions of Party program, adopt resolutions on all political, tactical and organizational questions, and elect the Dominion Executive Committee.
- (f) The Dominion Conventions shall elect the Dominion Executive Committee of the Party, consisting of twenty-one members and five candidates. In case of vacancies, the candidates, in order of their vote, become full members of the Dominion Executive. The Dominion Executive and its committees have the right of co-optation. The Dominion Convention shall elect the General Secretary of the Party.
- (g) The Dominion Executive Committee should have as members and candidates a majority of workers, some of them actually employed in factories, mines, mills and camps. All members elected to the Dominion Executive must have been active Party members for at least three years.
- (h) The Dominion Executive Committee is the highest authority in the Party between Party Conventions. It represents the Party as a whole, it organizes various organs of the Party, leads all political and organizational work, appoints the editors of the central organs of the Party who work under its leadership and control, it distributes Party personnel and controls the Party treasury.
- (i) The Dominion Executive Committee, at its first meeting after a Dominion Convention, elects from among its members a Political Bureau of from seven to nine members for conducting the work of the Dominion Executive between full sessions of the Executive.
- (j) The General Secretary of the Party, as well as members of the Political Bureau and Party Editors must have been active Party members for not less than five years at the time of their election.
- (k) The Political Bureau of the Party shall apportion to its members the various phases of Party work such as Organizational, Trade Unions, Education, Women's work, and others.
- (l) Approximately once every six months a full session of the Dominion Executive members and candidates shall be held.
- (m) The Dominion Executive may, when it deems it necessary, call Party Conferences. The delegates to these conferences shall be elected by the Provincial or Regional Executive Committees. The Dominion Executive may co-opt individual Party workers to attend the Party conferences in advisory capacity, without the right of vote.
- (n) The decisions of Party Conferences are not binding unless endorsed by the Dominion Executive Committee.

9. ELECTION OF DELEGATES.

- (a) Election of delegates to all Party conventions and conferences shall be based upon the number of members in good standing in the Party on the

first of the month prior to the date of election. Party members not in good standing in the Party cannot vote. The Secretary-Organizer of the Party group or branch shall submit, with the results of the election, a certified list, stating the number of members in good standing in his or her group or branch. No election of delegates to any convention shall be valid unless 35% of the members in good standing participated.

- (b) Each Party group or branch shall elect delegates to the township or ward convention in accordance with the number of delegates to which it is entitled.
- (c) The township or ward convention shall elect the number of delegates to which it is entitled to the Provincial or Regional Convention of the Party.
- (d) The Provincial or Regional Convention shall, according to agreement with the Dominion Executive Committee, elect delegates to the Dominion Convention.

10. THE PARTY APPARATUS.

- (a) The township, ward, provincial, regional and Dominion executives shall divide among their members the responsibility for the direction of the most important phases of work such as organization, Party education and publicity, press, literature and others.
- (b) The Dominion Executive shall, in accordance with Article 8, section (h), whenever it deems it necessary, set up various special or permanent committees and define their composition and functions.
- (c) The directors of various phases of work and the heads of such committees shall work under direct supervision of the corresponding Party committees.

11. PARTY DISCIPLINE.

- (a) The Communist Party is composed of people who have joined their efforts in the common purpose of bringing about a society without class and exploitation. To this end, the Party members know the need of an organization united in its efforts to lead the working class to its liberation. Because of this knowledge, the discipline permeating the ranks of the Party is self-imposed and conscious. Decisions of the Communist International, Dominion Executive, as well as the lower executive organs of the Party, bodies, elected by local, national or international conventions, represent the collective opinion of the majority of the membership and are therefore binding on all Communists.
- (b) The strictest Party discipline is the most solemn duty of all Party members and of all Party organizations. The decisions of the Communist International, of the Party conventions, the Dominion, Provincial and other committees of the Party, must be promptly carried out. While developing the widest discussion of questions before a decision is arrived at, once the decision is made it must be carried out by the entire membership without regard to conflicting opinions. No member may have held before the decision was made.
- (c) Breaches of Party discipline by individual Party members may be punished by censure, removal from office, and expulsion from the Party. Breaches of discipline by Party committees may be punished by censure, and the removal of the committee by the next higher Party committee.
- (d) Charges against individual members shall be made in the group or branch to which he or she belongs and decisions of the group or branch shall be made known to and confirmed by the higher Party committees in the territory in which the given group or branch is located. Charges against individual members may also be made in the township or ward committee. Appeals can be made only by the disciplined members themselves or by a Party organization on their behalf. The appeal must be submitted in writing and copies forwarded to the group or branch the decision of which is being appealed.
- (e) No leading committee of the Party has the power to suspend any of its members from the committee. Suspension can be recommended and carried out only with the agreement of the next higher Party body.

12. CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION.

In order to help the Party in consolidating its unity and prestige and raising Party discipline, and also to combat infringements of Party ethics by Party members, a Central Control Commission is elected at the Dominion Party Conventions.

- (a) It is the chief task of the Central Control Commission to carefully examine and consider cases of Party members who—
 1. Violate the unity and solidarity of the Party ranks;
 2. Abuse Party discipline and Party confidence;
 3. Reveal insufficient class vigilance;
 4. Do not show Bolshevik firmness in facing the class enemy;
 5. Conceal their anti-Party position under the cloak of loyalty to the Party (double-dealers);
 6. Are agents of the class enemy who penetrate the ranks of the Party.
- (b) The Central Control Commission considers also other cases of misconduct of Communists which incompatible with the high honor of being a member of the Communist Party.
- (c) The Central Control Commission has the additional duty of auditing the account books of the Central Committee of the Party and its enterprises.
- (d) The Central Control Commission is elected at the Dominion Convention and consists of five to seven of the finest Party members, each with a Party membership status of at least five years.
- (e) Members of the Central Control Commission cannot simultaneously be members of the Dominion Executive Committee of the Party.
- (f) The Central Control Commission elects a responsible secretary from its members.
- (g) The Central Control Commission considers cases raised by Party members of appeals against decisions of Party organizations or which are brought before it by decision of the Dominion Executive Committee, or which it itself deems necessary to consider.
- (h) Decisions of the Central Control Commission go into effect only with the approval of the Dominion Executive Committee of the Party.
- (i) The responsible secretary of the Central Control Commission attends sessions of the Dominion Executive Committee and its organs, with advisory powers.
- (j) The misconduct of Party members should as a rule be dealt with at general

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DRAFT CONSTITUTION Of the Communist Party

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meetings of the members of the basic Party organizations (branches) so that the whole Party organization may benefit from the careful and thorough examination of the case.

- (i) In all instances of a basic Party organization (branch) raising the question of expelling a member from the Party, its decision is brought to a higher (district or city) committee for approval.
- (k) A Party member not satisfied with the measures imposed upon him, may appeal against them to a higher Party body.
- (l) Decisions of the Central Control Commission as a rule are final. The Central Control Commission only examines appeals in cases stipulated in the rules of the Communist International.

13. DUES.

- (a) All applicants for membership who are employed shall pay an initiation fee of fifty cents. Those unemployed shall pay an initiation fee of ten cents. The payment of these fees shall be received by an initiation stamp furnished by the Central Committee, which shall receive the entire revenue from this source.
- (b) Members who are employed shall pay membership dues weekly according to weekly earnings as follows:
For earnings under ten dollars per week — 10 cents weekly.
For earnings under fifteen dollars per week — 15 cents weekly.
For earnings under twenty dollars per week — 20 cents weekly.
For earnings under twenty-five dollars per week — 25 cents weekly.
For earnings under forty dollars per week — 45 cents weekly.
For earnings over forty dollars per week — 75 cents weekly.
Members who are unemployed shall pay membership dues at the rate of two cents weekly. All dues payments shall be accepted by dues stamps issued by the Dominion Executive Committee.
- (c) The Provincial and Regional organizations shall purchase dues stamps from the Dominion Executive Committee at the following rates:
10 cents dues stamps at 4 cents; 15 cents at 6 cents; 20 cents at 8 cents; 25 cents at 10 cents; 45 cents at 20 cents; 75 cents at 30 cents and 2 cents dues stamps at 1 cent each.
- (d) The Ward and Township organizations shall purchase dues stamps from the Provincial or Regional organizations at the following rates:
10 cents dues stamps at 6 cents; 15 cents at 10 cents; 20 cents at 13 cents; 25 cents at 16 cents; 45 cents at 30 cents; 75 cents at 50 cents and 2 cents dues stamps at 1 cent each.
- (e) The branches and groups shall purchase dues stamps from the Ward and organizations at the following rates:
10 cents dues stamps at 8 cents; 15 cents at 13 cents; 20 cents at 17 cents; 25 cents at 16 cents; 45 cents at 30 cents; 75 cents at 50 cents and 2 cents dues stamps at 2 cents each.
- (f) The Dominion office shall also provide a special Monthly Dues Stamp for farm members. The stamp is in three denominations, as follows:
A 50c monthly stamp: The Provincial organizations shall purchase this stamp from the Dominion Executive Committee at 25 cents. The Ward and Township organizations shall purchase this stamp from the Provincial organizations at 35 cents, and the Branches shall purchase this stamp from the Ward or Township organizations at 40 cents.
A 25 cents monthly stamp: This stamp is for farm members with lower incomes. It shall be sold to the Provincial organizations at 8 cents. The Provincial organizations shall sell to the Ward and Township organizations at 13 cents, and the Branches shall purchase this stamp at 20 cents.
A 10 cents monthly stamp: This stamp is for destitute farmers. It is sold to the Provincial organizations for 3 cents. The Provincial organizations shall sell it to the Ward and Township organizations at 7 cents, and the Branches shall purchase this stamp at 9 cents.
- (g) The Dominion Executive Committee shall divide the receipts from weekly dues stamps as follows: Forty per cent for administration and sixty per cent for organization and publicity funds.
- (h) Special assessments may be levied only by the Party Convention or by the Dominion Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he or she purchases such special assessment stamps. The Party shall issue once a year an International Solidarity Stamp, the proceeds of the sales to go to brother parties.
- (i) Members unable to pay dues on account of strikes, sickness, or similar reasons shall be voted by the group or branch be furnished with exemption stamps issued by the Dominion Executive Committee.
- (j) Members who are three months in arrears in payments of dues shall cease to be members of the Party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the membership rolls. No member of the Party shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.
- (k) Assessment stamps shall be issued for the Party Convention and sold to members each year. The price of the Convention assessment shall be ten cents for unemployed members, fifty cents for all receiving up to \$20.00 per week, and one dollar for all receiving above \$20.00 per week. After the 30th of November each year, no dues stamps are to be sold to members until they pay this convention assessment.

14. FRACTIONS.

- (a) In all non-Party workers' and farmers' organizations where there are at least two Communists, a Communist fraction should be organized for the purpose of co-ordinating the activities of the Communists to the best advantage of the particular organization, its aims, and to the advancement of the policies of the Party.
- (b) The fractions are organs of the Party within non-Party organizations. They are subordinate to the corresponding leading committees of the Party.
- (c) In cases of differences arising between the leading committee and the fraction, the Party Committee shall make a decision which must be carried out unconditionally by the fraction. In case an appeal is made by the fraction, the question is to be settled by the next higher Party Committee.
- (d) When a Party Committee discusses questions concerning the work of a certain fraction, it shall invite representatives of this fraction in an advisory capacity.

Schedule of Monthly Dues Payments Suggested For Discussion as a Substitute for the Present System

Earnings	Dues per month
Unemployed	15c
Earning up to \$12.00 per week	40c
Earning \$13.00 to \$18.00 per week	60c
Earning \$19.00 to \$22.00	75c
Earning \$23.00 to \$28.00	\$1.00
Earning \$29.00 to \$35.00	\$1.50
Earning \$36.00 to \$45.00	\$2.00
Earning \$46.00 per week and over	\$3.00

ADDENDUM TO SUGGESTED DUES SCHEDULE

These stamps may be sold to the Districts, Sections and Branches at the following rates:—

Centre to District	District to Section	Section to Branch
15c stamp at 6c	10c	15c
40c stamp at 16c	28c	36c
60c stamp at 24c	42c	54c
75c stamp at 30c	55c	67c
1.00 stamp at 40c	70c	90c
1.50 stamp at 60c	\$1.05	\$1.35
2.00 stamp at 80c	\$1.40	\$1.80
3.00 stamp at \$1.20	\$2.10	\$2.70

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- (e) The fractions elect their own fraction committees, the composition of which is subject to approval by the corresponding Party committee which has the right to recall any of the members in consultation with the fraction members.

- (f) Questions which come up for decision in organizations in which a Party fraction functions, should be discussed by the fraction in advance so that the Party members in this organization may agree as to the course that will be in the best interests of the entire organization and so that all Party members, once having agreed, will endeavour concertedly to convince the general membership of the organization as to the correctness of the proposals they make.

- (g) The decisions of the Party fraction, once arrived at, are binding for all members.

- (h) In case of national organizations, the Political Bureau of the Party shall, upon recommendation of Convention fractions, appoint a National Fraction Bureau for the given organization, which will work under the direct guidance of the Political Bureau.

15. It is the duty of each Party member to carefully study and abide by all provisions of the Constitution.

How to Plan and Organize Recruiting

By A. F. THEODOR
(Regina, Sask.)

OUR Party has gained considerable prestige in Saskatchewan. Many non-party leaders of labor and farmers' organizations speak of our members with the utmost respect. They think of us as the most sincere and dependable workers. They come into our office to ascertain our official position on this or that important question; they keep shy of our Party. Why?

1. Because of the slanderous propaganda of the capitalist press, the radio, etc. which purports to "expose" us.
2. Because many workers and farmers are of the opinion that they can do better work by remaining outside of the party.
3. Because our branch meetings are not held in public halls but in private homes, which they think gives a "conspiratorial air" to our Party, and goes against the grain.

4. Because they believe that they are not "good enough" to be members of our party.
We wish to encourage individual recruiting. There are hundreds of very good workers and farmers who are waiting to be asked to join the party. They must be asked. But that is not enough. We must overcome the four points raised above.

A Responsible Leader

WE recommend that every section (constituency committee) should have a direct of recruiting. That under his leadership a director be also elected in every branch. The directors of sections and branches will constitute the recruiting committee of the section or constituency.

The task of the branch directors and the committee would

be:
1. To have on hand at all times a complete list of the Clarion and literature readers in the neighborhood.

2. To get names and addresses of progressive people with whom our membership comes in contact during the interval between meetings. These to be checked at every branch meeting.

3. To check up on individual recruiting.

4. To organize sympathizers meetings.

The director of recruiting would find that the new people recruited by individual members would have to be placed in the branch and developed. He would also find that within the period of a month or so he would have collected a number of names of progressive people—potential party members. What would he do with them?

Sympathizers' Meetings

WE recommend most emphatically the holding of sympathizers' meetings. These must be very carefully prepared. We suggest the following method for the crisis: When some 20 or more names are obtained, the director brings before the branch the question of organizing such a meeting. A date must be set, invitations prepared and issued to the members of the branch for distribution among the prospective members, each member of the branch to be responsible to see that it is given numbers of "prospects" attend the sympathizers' meeting. The minutest details should be discussed, even matters that may seem insignificant, such as the exact way to approach the prospective members. The entire membership of the branch should participate in making this meeting a suc-

cessful one. The following is a good form of invitation, and should be mimeographed or printed on good paper:

"Mr. _____ (official position in the party) invites you to attend a lecture which will be delivered at _____ (address) _____ (date) _____ (time). The subject will be: 'What is Communism?' A discussion will follow the lecture. Tea will be served. No charge—no collection."

The best possible house in the neighborhood should be chosen for this purpose.

It is advisable that these people be called for, and that the manner of approach be not mechanical. We would have much better results if instead of saying "I called to take you to the meeting," we say, "I am on my way to the meeting, would you care to come with me?" It is not sufficient that we merely deliver the invitations; we must deliver it that those who are invited attend the meeting.

The Speaker's Task

THE task of the lecturer will be to make the lecture as interesting and impressive as possible and to recruit as many as possible of those who attend the meeting. His talk should cover the following points:

1. That the capitalist agitation against our party and their social exposure of our tactics are merely inventions for the purpose of undermining the growing influence of our party, that we have nothing to hide from honest farmers and workers.

2. Briefly that the position of the people today is not an accident, but a natural consequence of the capitalist structure.

3. That the emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class; they cannot

depend upon others for salvation.

4. Briefly the structure of our party.

5. Briefly the work of the party in mass organizations and the question of unity.

6. Present trends in society and the responsibility of the working class to direct events if catastrophe is to be averted.

7. That no unity and strong people's movement can be accomplished without a strong Communist Party.

As soon as the lecture is over tea should be served and the discussion take place.

The discussion is usually quite prolonged and some questions are often quite anti-party. Under no circumstances should the lecturer try to put the question "on the spot." On the contrary, he should in a mild and comradely manner explain the misunderstanding that gave rise to the question of the incorrectness of fact question.

We recommend these meetings because when they are carefully prepared and properly conducted they bring the desired results. These good results are due to the following reasons:

1. The quiet Canadian atmosphere of the home, the kindly attitude of the speaker, the social atmosphere of the whole affair dispel false notions of "conspiracy."

2. The fact that the majority of those present, (including the speaker) are of the same class, makes them feel at home.

3. The impression made upon the listener that he is one who could and would influence the trend of affairs in the country, gives him a new outlook upon life.

4. The impression made upon the listener that he is an important Canadian and "good enough" to play an important role in Canadian affairs.

5. He begins to see that the Communist Party is his party, that the numerical strength of the party will hasten the unity of the Canadian people; he sees the necessity for his own participation in bringing about this result.

Before the audience leaves a piece of paper and a pencil should be handed to each person, and he should be requested to write his name and signify whether or not he will join the party by writing the word "yes" or "no." This method has been found to be the most practical, because people as a rule do not like to express their desire to join the party at such meetings. They prefer it to be a personal matter between themselves and the speaker.

Check Results

When the slips of paper are collected and the results ascertained, those who signify their willingness to join the party should be brought into their nearest branches immediately. Some will write "not ready yet," others "would like to speak to some one before joining," etc. These must be visited by the director of recruiting and the questions raised by them must be answered in a very patient manner. We often

find that these people wish to join the party, but that some minor question bothers them just as they were too shy to raise it at the meeting.

It does not follow that those who answer "no" will never join our party. The contrary is often the case. Our experience has shown that a personal visit to the home often discloses that the objection is quite a minor one, that it is based upon an incorrect conception of a certain question raised up in the question. Upon clearing up this question properly with these people we find that the "nos" often become members of our party, and good ones at that.

Similar sympathizers' meetings should also be held in the countryside.

The Political Value Of Individual Donations

By W. F.,
(Glouce Bay, N.S.)

In Clarion Drive work, collections from individual workers and sympathizers, by means of the attractive cards issued by the Clarion Management, are often underestimated.

People who contribute to the Drive by patronizing raffish, draws, concerts, dances and other social affairs may contribute the greater part of the funds, along with the ever-increasing support from the trade unions. Still, a considerable amount can still be collected by individual donations, on collecting cards.

The individual contribution has a political importance in so far as the contribution feeds a more direct sense of responsibility towards our paper. He feels that he has actually given personally and directly, and what he gets in return is precisely that satisfaction. The political importance of this factor cannot be overestimated.

A Typical Card

In Nova Scotia the greater part of the Drive funds raised was by this means, in donations from one cent to two dollars. Hundreds were brought into this direct contact and sympathy for the paper. Here is an example of a typical collection card: 52 10-cent donations; 15 15-cent donations; one 20-cent donation; five 25-cent donations and two 50-cent donations; making a total of \$8.25, contributed directly by 64 people.

While our increasing connections make possible larger and more numerous drives, successful money-raising affairs, and greater numbers of donations from trade unions, it is to be hoped that the collection cards will continue to be used.

It would be interesting to see whether those localities which did the most work in securing individual donations were not also the localities in which the trade unions which boldly approached the trade unions.

The lesson which we are learning is that the circulation and financial drives are more successful the more they are approached with a correct political understanding.

Strong Branches are Basis for Success

By FRED C. BRODIE
(Glouce Bay, N.S.)

THERE are lessons to be learned and a warning to be heeded by our Party members in the Maritimes as the drive to organize the unorganized goes forward not only in the industrial centres but reaches into the out-of-the-way places, and includes groups of formerly isolated workers. There has developed in the Party in several localities a tendency to overlook the Party Branch as the basic organization of the Party. To view the Branch as an instrument to be used for the purpose of setting up a trade union and then forgotten.

It is precisely this drive to organize the unorganized workers which demands strong Party organizations capable of fulfilling the added responsibilities which the Party must shoulder as a result of the rapid movement of the workers into the ranks of organized labor. The Party takes a leading part in the great movement which is meeting with such great successes. But successes, like everything else under the sun, have their scamy side, as Comrade Stalin has pointed out in

his great speech to the Communist Union of the Soviet Union. And the scamy side of our successes in the trade union field is shown by the tendency of the part of some of our Party members who, in their enthusiasm over the successes in the trade union field, have neglected their Party Branches and consequently lost touch with other vitally important phases of Communist activity.

Branch is Mother-Ship

Great opportunities have opened up for the Party in the Maritimes. Thousands of workers have been drawn into the labor movement, thus providing a large new field in which we can begin to build a real mass Party. But the influx is not only the trade unions, but the whole economic, political and social life of the people in the Maritimes. Many new people can be recruited in the coming months as a result of this new territory opening up before us. But in order to guarantee that they will be recruited and that they will remain in the Party we must consolidate and strengthen the Branches so that they can carry on in an organized manner the many activities which, in addition to

trade union work, must go on. This requires, in the first place, regular attendance at Branch meetings, regular payment of dues, participation in the social activities of the party. It is extremely important, taking part in the Branch education in order that the members will be armed with a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, and that which it is impossible to deal with the many complicated questions which arise in these days of swift-moving events and changes.

Let us remind ourselves that the Party Branch is the base from which to work, the mother-ship, as it were, to which all members must report regularly for direction and guidance; where the many activities of the Party are discussed by the Branch membership and the merits and weaknesses of our work, both as individuals and as a group, are checked regularly in order that the most good may be done and the weaknesses and mistakes overcome before any serious damage has been done. In this way we can ensure that we are working in a unified, organized manner and can fit ourselves for the greater struggles which lie ahead.

Organizing Literature Sales

IN Saskatchewan we have established a Provincial Literature Department handling popular current magazines, pamphlets, books, Party publications and suitable information materials for new agents and contacts with a permanent office in Regina. We can record the following gains:

1. The establishment of over 40 agents in larger centres and rural points who now handle a variety of pamphlets and periodicals on a commission basis. Many of these agents are non-Party people who have shown in a practical way how our Party must master the means whereby we can present our case and our policies before all sections of the population, both effectively and convincingly.

2. Commencement of advertising in the columns of the Western Producer (with a circulation of some 168,000) from which many new agents and contacts have been established and the sale and distribution of literature spread into many new localities.

3. Beginnings of sales of current magazines through newstand dealers in the larger cities and towns.

4. Regular issuance of a Literature Bulletin (Progressive Readers Guide) announcing new titles published and received, copies of which are mailed to all contacts, agents, and Party branches.

5. Supplying of Party organizers with samples, catalogues and information material for establishment of regular literature agents. Practically every field organizer on the road in this province carries a suitcase loaded with literature, making sales at meetings and through individual contact.

6. Constant mailing of samples of literature to contacts, groups and organizations not previously contacted.

While many more pamphlets have been issued, a wider variety of current magazines secured for distribution, and many more copies sold by our party during the first six months of this year in absolute terms, than at any time in the history of our Party, our sale of literature is very small and much below both the needs of the present period and the possibilities.

The main weaknesses in regard to our literature work are:

(a) Party membership must become literature conscious.

One of the main tasks confronting our Party is that of being able to react quickly and effectively to all events, to bring forward a timely reply to all arguments and slanders of our opponents, and to reach with our reply precisely those sections of the population to whom our opponents addressed themselves. To be able to do this, the sale and distribution of Party literature must be considered as a political Party task and not as it is sometimes perceived as it is another pain in the neck. It is another expression in our Party circles. The sale and distribution of Party literature is the bridge that takes us to the masses, and the amount of literature consumed is the barometer by which we gauge the

political level of the masses. The linking-up of all daily phases of Party activity with sale and distribution of our literature on a wide scale is the only guarantee that will make possible the carrying out into practice of our political line in an effective way.

(b) We must issue more timely pamphlets suitable for mass distribution.

As yet most of the titles that have been issued in Canada are resolutions or reports of Party conventions and central committee meetings with insufficient publication by our Party of pamphlets on timely events, economic and political questions which could be used for wide mass sales and distribution. Last fall when thousands of farmers were in motion clamoring for the operation of Wheat Board, not even a single leaflet was issued explaining the Party's position on this vital issue. This summer, only a leaflet has been issued to date on the drought question, yet numerous movements, local meetings are held where the problem is tackled. We should have at least a po-

January	1,530 pieces of literature valued at \$	178.28 (retail)
February	1,075 pieces of literature valued at	166.39 (retail)
March	2,013 pieces of literature valued at	276.22 (retail)
April	3,715 pieces of literature valued at	409.75 (retail)
May	1,857 pieces of literature valued at	234.47 (retail)
June	2,386 pieces of literature valued at	277.66 (retail)
Total:		
(6 mos.) 12,619 pieces of literature valued at \$1,538.64 (retail)		

Make Our Party "Literature-Conscious"

By W. SYDNEY

ONE of the problems that will face the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party is the setting up of an efficient apparatus to distribute Marxist-Leninist literature in Canada. That this problem has been neglected is admitted by the whole Party but unfortunately a small section of the Party has taken the necessary steps to remedy this situation.

It is only a comparatively short time ago that it was practically impossible to secure a Marxist-Leninist book in Canada except with great difficulty. Now, by using our comrades used to beval this fact and point out that if we could only supply them with sufficient literature they would be able to accomplish what they are now doing. We have progressive publishers, bookstores and bookshops in Canada and a wealth of books and pamphlets easily secured. But we are not taking full advantage of our opportunities.

Unfortunately we have forgotten our past, especially the experiences of the years when we were building up our movement. At that time every Party member and progressive generally was a literature salesman. He or she would never think of going anywhere, whether to work or visit friends, without taking a few pamphlets ready to be used on an argument or to sell to new contacts. Today literature distribution tends to be looked upon as a necessary evil which can be safely left in the hands of one or two people who

By J. P. BESPALKO
Director, Saskatchewan
Party Literature Dept.

ular pamphlet for the three prairie provinces outlining the Party's stand on how to save the West from complete ruin.

(c) Our present sales are far too small.

Of the pamphlets that have been issued, the sale of "What the Communist Party Stands For" is the only one that has had anything approaching a mass sale in this province—approximately 3,700 copies being sold to date. This is followed by the sale of 1,500 copies of the Draft of the New Soviet Constitution, 1,000 copies of Stalin's Speech on the Constitution, 1,600 copies of "What We Can Do" by Tim Buck, 350 copies of "Whither Marxism?" by James Litterick, 1,400 copies of "Road Ahead" by Tim Buck and 200 copies of Sam Carr's pamphlet "From Oppression to Assassination."

From January 1, to July 1 of this year, our cash and credit sales were as follows:

January	1,530 pieces of literature valued at \$	178.28 (retail)
February	1,075 pieces of literature valued at	166.39 (retail)
March	2,013 pieces of literature valued at	276.22 (retail)
April	3,715 pieces of literature valued at	409.75 (retail)
May	1,857 pieces of literature valued at	234.47 (retail)
June	2,386 pieces of literature valued at	277.66 (retail)

Total:
(6 mos.) 12,619 pieces of literature valued at \$1,538.64 (retail)

specialize in this work. It is conveniently forgotten by the rest of us.

Reading Educates

Within the past few months we have seen progressive bookstores open in most of the big cities. This is certainly a step forward which must be enlarged but it does not go to the root of the problem. Before we can sell literature to people outside the Party we must begin selling literature on a much larger scale to our own members.

Many of the Party branches and city committees complain very greatly about the lack of educational work in our Party. This is true. We must have more schools of all kinds where education means not only schools. It means reading, studying. We have a tremendous amount of literature, from Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Browder, Dutt, Buck and other leading writers of our national and international movement, yet our comrades neglect to take full advantage.

Let us see how this neglect of literature works out in practice. All of us have attended meetings where important problems have been dealt with. At very few of these meetings do our comrades think of attempting to sell literature dealing with the subject dealt with at the meetings. Such an approach to the question of literature where thousands of books lie on the shelves in offices with no attempt made to sell them to the thousands who are interested borders on the criminal. It shows that our comrades are not alive to the possibilities of uti-

lizing literature to secure new contacts, to win members for the Party and for the people's front.

Another point to illustrate this. Let us take our campaigns and celebrations. Every provincial and city committee will send our directives for an event such as the celebration of the October Revolution. Detailed advice is given on how to motivate the Party and the people generally for the particular event. How many directives contain advice on how to sell literature at these meetings, the type of literature to secure in preparation for these meetings, etc.? Certainly very few such directives have come to the attention of the central literature department.

The experience of the various parties, such as the U.S. Party, has been that the growth of the Party is intimately connected with the growth in the distribution of literature. — that an increase in literature sales means an increase in the influence and membership of the Party. There must be a tremendous increase in the amount of literature sold by our Party in Canada if we wish to grow into that mass Party, which our convention aims to attain.

When we analyze the sales of literature in the Party we find that our sales amount to less than 5 cents per member per month. What a ridiculously small figure! We must set ourselves the task of selling an average of 50 cents worth of literature per member per month. It only means that each member should buy and read two or three 5-cent pamphlets per

month himself and sell the same number to at least two or three of his friends or acquaintances. This can be done if we not only look upon this task as one of "selling" but understand that the distribution of literature is an important political task for the whole party.

Judge by Results
From now on each district, each section, each branch of the Party must be judged also by the amount of literature it sells. This should become an important criterion of Party activity and the results will very soon show themselves in increased all-round growth.

Connected with this is another problem—the financial angle. If new literature is to be continually published, bills must be promptly paid. Money from the sale of literature will have to be considered misused if utilized for any other purpose than for the payment of literature bills. If we secure this, then we shall be in a position to publish many more books and pamphlets dealing with Canadian and international problems.

We hope the whole Party will become imbued with the need of connecting up the sale of working-class literature with the manifold tasks facing us in building of our Party, in building the trade unions and in organizing the movement for the people's front in Canada.

The delegates to the Eighth Convention of our Party need to discuss this question thoroughly and make decisions that will ensure that our whole Party become "literature-conscious."